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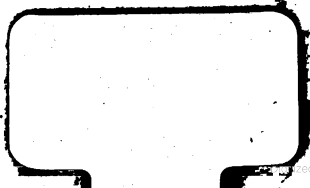
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AN
HISTORICAL RELATION
OF THE
LIFE

OF
MR. JOSEPH LISTER,

LATE OF THE SOCIETY AT

Hippin;

CONTAINING AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

OF THE
SIEGE OF BRADFORD, &c.

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*Whoso is wise, will observe these things.*  
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BRADFORD:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY W. H. BLACKBURN, MARKET-
STREET; HEATON, AND BARR, LEEDS; TUTE,
WAKEFIELD; SMART, HUDDERSFIELD;
WHITELY, HALIFAX; CHAMBERS
AND LUMB, KEIGHLEY; &c.

1821

ADVERTISEMENT.



An old Manuscript, containing the following 'Life of Mr. Joseph Lister,' having fallen into the hands of the Editor, he was so much struck with its simple beauty and unvarnished artlessness, that he determined to give it greater publicity, by presenting it to the world, through the medium of the press. This little work will be found to comprise matters of great local interest to the inhabitants of this Town and neighbourhood, as it contains the only full historical account of 'the Siege of Bradford.' This work is also worthy of general attention; inasmuch as it contains an interesting sketch of the life of a pious man — exhibits before the reader a close review of private manners and domestic life, as they existed nearly two centuries ago — and details some of the minor transactions, connected with that bloody civil war, which desolated this Kingdom and preceded and accompanied the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector of the Commonwealth. The description of these horrors of war, will lead the pious

reader to be thankful to the Giver of every blessing, that the "clashing of conflicting hosts, and the shouts of battle," have not been heard in our favoured land, for a long series of years; and will induce him fervently to pray, that 'there may be peace and truth in our days,' and 'that wars and fightings may cease to the ends of the earth.'

The Editor has taken the liberty, in some instances, to alter the phraseology of the manuscript, where the expression appeared to be too complicated and quaint, to be easily intelligible to a merely modern reader. Many more alterations might have been made, and perhaps, to advantage; the only reason that prevented the Editor from making them, was a fear of rubbing off that venerable rustiness of phrase, which, by its antique simplicity, proves the work to be authentic.

*Bradford, }
Nov. 2. 1821. }*

THE
LIFE
OF
MR. JOSEPH LISTER.



I was born on June the 7th, 1627, at Bradford, in Yorkshire, of godly and religious Parents. My Father died when I was about six years old, and left five children, (viz.) Mary, John, Grace, myself and Ruth. I was brought up at School, and my godly Mother would gladly have had me to have been a scholar; but I had no mind to it. Howbeit, having a free school in the Town, I was continued there many years; but was averse to learning, being much inclined to play about, with my fellows.

My dear Mother took great care to instruct me, and was a woman that would pass by small faults; yet would not wink at sin; but prevented it in me as much as she could, and corrected me for what she found me guilty of. I then thought she was too severe, yet I have seen contrary many a time since.

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Her practice was before whipping me, to pray earnestly with me, that God would make that correction an ordinance for my good: though I was weary both of praying and correcting, yet she carefully attended to both, in order to my good. And O what a mercy was this! How many parents are defective in this duty! How many are there who suffer their children to sin without reproof or frown! But this was far from being my case. Bless the Lord, O my soul, for such mercy bestowed upon me &c.

When I was about nine or ten years old, I remember, an Aunt of mine came from Bramley to pay my Mother a visit, and spend a Lord's day with us: and at noon, after dinner was over, unknown to any of the family, I took my Aunt's Horse out of the stable, and thought to water him, though it was likely he did not need any, but that I had a mind to ride. However, the Horse boggled at something and ran away with me, till I fell off and lay there in the high way till word was brought to my poor troubled Mother. I was taken up for dead; but being brought home, and means used to see if any life was left in me, after a long time they thought I began to breathe, and afterwards I recovered and came to myself; yet knew I nothing at all of this but by information afterwards. O how near was I to death at this time! and had I died then, surely I had gone down to the Pit. My Mother who was tender of me, endeavoured to set this providence home upon me; but alas! being recovered, without the breaking of a leg or arm, or any thing of the nature, I soon forgot my danger and deliverance.

As soon as I was capable, I was brought to public ordinances, and was carefully examined, what I remembered; and directed how to understand the minister's method, and by degrees, got the gift of my memory, and pleased my Mother with that; for I could bring home most, if not all of the heads and particulars in a sermon. I also got a Catechism, and several chapters and psalms by heart, and learned to write both long hand and characters very well, that so I might be of use in the family. I went to many funeral sermons, lectures and monthly exercises, and constantly repeated them, so that I gained speculative knowledge; but no impression to purpose was made on my heart all this time.

I well remember, about this time, in the years 1638, 39, 40, and 41, that godly ministers and christians (or puritans as they were then called,) looked upon the times with many sad thoughts, concluding that popery was likely to be set up, and the light of the gospel to be put out. Many ministers were silenced, and a great many during these three or four years, were packing away into new England, many both men and women that I knew; and sad apprehensions had such as stayed. O! what fasting and praying, publickly and privately! What wrestling with God was there both day and night! Many of those weeping, praying and wrestling seasons were kept in my mother's house.

Those fasts were kept with great strictness and severity; not any of us, old or young, eating so much as a morsel of bread for twenty four hours; which

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(fool and wretch that I was) was a great weariness to my carnal heart; with shame and grief would I think of it.

About this time (in the year 1641) did the Rebellion in Ireland break out; where were slain many thousands of protestants of both sexes, of all ages and degrees, with great inhumanity and cruelty. Great fears grew upon that, among us in England; those bloody villains giving it out, that what they did there, was by the king's commission, and in a little time, the English Protestants (or heretics as they called them) must drink of the same cup. And it was verily believed it must be so, if God suffered it. And O what fears and tears, cries and prayers, night and day, were there in many places; and in my dear Mother's house in particular! I being then about twelve or thirteen years of age, though I was afraid to be killed, yet was weary of so much fasting and praying, and longed to see those nights and days over.

These public fast days were appointed by godly ministers, who kept them in their respective places; Mr. Wales kept many at Pudsey, which is two miles from Bradford; and thither my godly Mother and all her family went constantly upon those days.

I have known that holy Mr. Wales spend six or seven hours in preaching and praying, and rarely go out of the pulpit during that time; sometimes he would intermit about one quarter of an hour, while a few

verses of a Psalm were sung, and then come and pray and preach again. And O what confession of sin did he make! What prayers, and tears, and wrestlings with God were in that place of weepers! I well remember on one particular fast day kept at Pudsey, perhaps about three of the clock, a certain man, (as I remember it was *John Sugden*) came and stood up in the Chapel and cried out with a lamentable voice; "*Friends we are all as good as dead men! For the Irish rebels are coming; they are come as far as Rochdale, and Littleborough, and will be at Halifax and Bradford shortly.*"

Having given this alarm, away he runs towards Bradford again, where the report was spread, (as he said) and whence he came out of pity and good will, to give us this notice: upon which the Congregation was all in confusion. Some ran out, others cried aloud, others fell to talking to their friends; and the Irish massacre being lately acted, and all circumstances laid together, the people's hearts failed them with fear, and with looking for the issue. The Rev. Mr. Wales, desired the congregation to compose themselves as well as they could, while he put himself and them into the hands of God by prayer; which he did, and dismissed us.

But O what a sad and sorrowful going had we that evening! For we must needs go to *Bradford*; and knew not but death and incarnate devils might meet us, and be there before us. O what sad conjectures and conclusions will surprising fears make! *Me* thinks I shall never forget this time.

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When we got home, we found friends and neighbours in our case, and expecting the cut-throats coming : but at last some few horsemen were prevailed with, to go to *Halifax* to know how the case stood. They went with a great deal of fear, but found matters better when they came there : it only proved to be some protestants, who had escaped for their lives out of *Ireland*. This news we received with great joy, and spent the residue of that night in praise and thanksgiving to God.

I remember what sad discourses I heard about this time ; the papists being desperate bloody men, and those that were put into offices and places of trust, were such as would serve the King and his designs at that day. All profaneness came swelling in upon us ; swearing, sabbath breaking, and profane sports, and that by law. The people of God not knowing what the end of these things would be, were almost at their wit's end ; parliaments were broken up, and things were going to wreck both in church and state.

Horse and foot were brought now into the town, and quartered in it, who rode round about it, swearing what they would do, like so many blood-hounds ; mothers and children expecting daily that they should every one of them be dashed in pieces one against another. Every one of them now would begin to shift for themselves, but they had no way of escape left them in the whole world, that they knew of ; some made their escape into *new England*, but they were but few, and that too with great difficulty. Some fled into *Lancashire* hoping to pass thence ; but all ways being

shut up; few could make their escape. The army at length marching away for a time, the poor inhabitants of death (liker than life) were now laid open to the enemy; what remained but that they should fall a prey to the bloody sword of those villains?

When I was about fourteen years of age, my Mother put me apprentice to a godly man at *Horton*, near to the town of Bradford, where I was to be seven years; but the civil wars broke out in 1642, and many godly men in the town and parish, took up arms for the defence of the parliament, which was then in being. My Master was a man of good spirit, had a plentiful estate, and was an active man about the town; he engaged likewise in the business; and though the King's party came sundry times to take the town of Bradford, yet they were for a long time happily repulsed.

But in the year 1643 as I remember, came the Earl of *Newcastle* with a strong army to *Wakefield*, and lay there.

But methinks, I should here give a hint by the way, how that civil war, that shed so much English blood, was brought about. It was in the reign of King Charles I, who did, by the constant solicitation of the Queen, she being a fast friend to Rome, encourage swarms of Jesuits, and evil affected Counsellors, Bishops and men of great power, to lay their heads together to destroy Christ's interest in the nation, and cut off the being, yea, and name of what is dear to God and his people; nay and even the lives of all protestants, and to



enslave this land to Rome, the mother of harlots, whose kingdom is established by blood. These things were so plain, that he must be blind that did not see them; the King dissolved the parliament from time to time, when they did but touch upon these things (as some of the bold, seeing men did, year after year;) so that now there seemed to be no help nor hope left for *England*, but that it must shortly be destroyed, as *Ireland* was already, by a bloody rebellion.

Now about this time, God put it into the hearts of the good people of *Scotland*, to endeavour to remedy these evils, well foreseeing the ruin that was hastening upon *England*; and knowing it could not go well with *them* if it were destroyed; they came at two different times to *Newcastle* and *Berwick* upon *Tweed* with considerable armies, with the design to prevent our ruin.

Upon which an army was raised in *England* to go and fight them; and upon what terms the Scots returned home the first time I cannot tell; but however, they came again shortly; and the King in person at the head of a great army went to meet them, together with a great number of Noblemen, Bishops and Gentlemen in great fury, with a design to fight with, and suppress them.

What they propounded and required, I know not, but I remember it was said, the English army was not fully resolved to engage. So a parley was proposed and accepted, to see if peace could be brought about, and if the Scots could be sent quietly home again.

After strong debates it was concluded, that the Scots should deliver up the towns they were possessed of, and march their army back again in a peaceable manner and then disband it.

One of the conditions on the King's party was, that he would in a few days issue out his writs for a free parliament, which should consider of, and in an honourable manner, conclude all matters of difference and dissatisfaction, especially matters relating to misdemeanor or ill government, by any evil counsellors or ministers of state. The King according to this condition did call a parliament. They had not sat long before they presented an humble address, that seeing his majesty had given his subjects some discontent, by his so often dissolving of parliament, they begged he would be pleased to sign an act, that they might sit as long as they pleased without dissolution; and this he granted: and therein, (as God ordered it) they got the staff out of his hand, which he could never get again.

Having got this power, they began to call some evil counsellors into question, still laying all mis-government at their door. They clapped up some wicked Bishops, and Deacons, tried them for their lives, and executed them; and likewise some great states-men. I remember one above the rest, called *Lord Wentworth*,\* who was said to be one of the greatest politicians in England. It was thought he had but hard measures, being as was said, guilty of many crimes, yet no one of them alone would cut him off; therefore they made an act, that

\*Earl of Strafford.

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two such crimes put together, should be high treason; and thus they made him liable to the stroke of death. But then the difficulty was to get his execution signed, which the King long refused to do; but being resolved to have him down, they pressed the King, till he was pleased to sign it, though he repented it to his dying day.

There were many things in evil case, and the house acted so as did not please the King. But there were some wise, bold and resolute men, who now feared no colours, and they had a great influence upon the rest of the house of commons. The King was not unacquainted with this, and it got out that he intended to go to the house with a guard, and apprehend them; which thing afterwards he did, but when he got there, he found them not, for the birds had taken wing, and flown. By these means the quarrel between the King and parliament increased every day. The King being grieved that things went so contrary to his designs, and the design of his bosom friends, withdrew, and resided at Hampton Court.

At length the King set out with great swarms of Gentry, Clergy, Jesuits and wicked Papists, who were ill affected and came to *York*; but had not been there long before the *Yorkshire* gentlemen and others, resolved to go and petition him to return unto the parliament, which they did; but seeing such swarms of bloody Papists riding about in arms, and swearing like so many Devils, what they would do, the petitioners being, unarmed men, they withdrew, and got away, being, yet more fearful of the end of these things.

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Next the King went to *Hull*, and when he came there, the gates were shut against him; the parliament having sent Sir *J. Hotham* to be governor. The King called for him, and commanded him to open the gates; but *Hotham* kneeling upon the wall, told his Majesty, he could not do that, and be faithful to the parliament, who had commissioned him to the contrary.

So his majesty in a rage, marched away his army to Nottingham, and there he set up his standard, and declared war against the parliament, which occasioned them to take up arms in order to a defensive war; for now no way was left but to decide the difference by sword. And in this war it fell out, that fathers and sons, and many brothers fought one against another, till many families were quite ruined. In this war, was poor *Bradford* sadly engaged. The generality of the town, and parish and the towns about, stood for the parliament and it was made a little garrison; and though it was not easy to keep it, yet they got bulwarks about it, and the Inhabitants were firm to the cause, and to one another, to the very taking of the town. Upon the approach of the enemies to invade the town, they sent men to *Bingley*, *Halifax* and the small towns about, who came with all speed, with such arms as they had, and did much service.

The enemies lay at *Leeds* and *Wakefield* and at *Pontefract* Castle and so were near to *Bradford*.

I remember one day they came to a Hill called *Undercliff*, brought two great guns with them and planted them against the steeple, where we had men with several

great guns, that did much execution, when they came within their shot. God so ordered it, that a great snow shower fell just then, and one of the guns burst, and so discouraged them that they went away without any force of the towns' men. Another time they came down into Barkerend, a place within very little of the Church, planted their guns directly against the steeple, and so directly up the street called Kirkgate, which in all probability might have done the town a world of mischief. At the same time a stout gallant Officer who commanded about four companies of foot, came running down a field shaded with a hedge, intending to come rushing into the Church, and to cut off the men both in the Church and in the Steeple; but the men in the Steeple having a full view of their design, ordered a few men to meet them and give them a charge. Well, it fell out that they intended to come through a room in a House leading to the Church. The commander coming first, two of the town's men met him, and struck him down. He cried out for quarter, and they, poor men, not knowing what the word meant, said they would quarter him, and so killed him out right. I think they said he was the *Earl of Newport*, or *his Son*, as I remember. The enemy sent a trumpeter to request his corpse the next day, which was delivered unto them. He being fallen, that was their Champion, his men that followed him thither, were easily driven back to the body of their army that stood within a little of where their guns were planted; so presently a panic fell upon Sir William Saville their commander, and they did not fire a gun any more that I remember, but plucked

up their feet, and ran away to Leeds their den. The town's men fell in the rear of them, and some little slaughter was made, but not much.

Having made this little digression shewing the breaking out of the war, I shall say something of its carrying on about Bradford. I said before that the Earl of Newcastle was come to Wakefield with a strong army, intending to overturn the country. My Lord Fairfax, then commander of the parliament's army having gathered all the forces under his command, sent into Lancashire for some assistance from thence; some troops came and I think some few foot. Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the Horse.

Well, so it was, that the Earl of Newcastle had marched his army as far as Howley-Hall, another den of Dragons, and Adwalton; so my Lord Fairfax got his men ready very early in the morning, and marched away to Adwalton, and charged them so warmly, that they beat them off their great guns, and turned them against the enemy and they began to run. But there was one Major Jefferies keeper of the ammunition, who proving treacherous, and withholding it from the parliament men; who calling for it and being able to get none, were forced to slacken their firing, which the enemy perceiving, and very likely having private intelligence of, presently faced about, and fell upon Fairfax's men with that fury, that they soon regained their guns, and put them to the rout, slaying many of them; but as many as could escaped to Bradford.

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But O! what a sad discouraging day was that! All the Lancashire men, horse and foot, ran home, and could by no means be persuaded to stay in *Bradford*; though my Lord resolved to stay there, and as many as had any courage left, stayed also. At last a little army was formed up, and got to the works; but Sir Thomas Fairfax was forced another away, and so got to *Halifax* with those few troops he had left; and he came to *Bradford* the next day, whose coming did put fresh courage into the Soldiers.

But alas! their joy was but short. The enemy was encamped at *Bowling Hall*; and near the town, on that side of it, they had planted their guns against the steeple, and they gave it many a sad shake. The town's-men had hanged woolpacks at that side of the steeple, but the enemy cut the cords with their spiteful shot; and shouted full loudly when the packs fell down.

But on one Lord's day morning, they beat a drum for a parley, and all that day (during the time of the parley) they spent in removing their great guns just against the heart of the town; so that no way was left for any to escape. There were but few men in the town, and most of their arms and ammunition were lost at *Atherton*; they had no match, but what was made of twisted cords dipped in oil.

About the going down of the Sun, the parley broke up, and off went their murderous guns before the inhabitants knew, and at the first shot they killed three men sitting on a bench. All that night it was almost as light as day, with the continual firing.

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In the dead of the night, the captains were called and a council held, to determine what was best to be done; and it was presently resolved that the soldiers should be told, they must shift for themselves.

The officers were resolved on making a desperate adventure of breaking through the army at the upper end of the town, and all that were willing might forthwith repair thither. But because my Lord had no garrison nearer than *Hull*, and now no use could be made of their arms for want of match and powder, he would not command the Soldiers to go along with him, but leave them to their own choice; for he said they could no longer keep the town. So they broke through the enemy, and making their way by dint of sword, they got away towards *Hull*. Among the rest my good Master (Mr. Sharp,) was one that broke through, but having no mind to go so far as *Hull*, he then left the army, and taking towards *Lancashire*, he got that day to a town called *Colne*, where he staid some time. But O! what a dreadful night was that in which Bradford was taken! What weeping and wringing of hands! None expected to live longer than till the enemy came in; the *Duke of Newcastle* having charged his men to kill all; man, woman, and child in the town, and to give them (Bradford) quarter, for the brave *Earl of Newport's* sake.

However, God so ordered it before the town was taken, that the Earl gave another command, (viz.) that quarter should be given to all. It was generally reported, that on the Lord's day night, something came,



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and pulled the clothes off his bed several times, till he had sent out his second order that none should be slain; and then that thing which troubled him went away. This I assert not as fact; but this is a truth, that they slew very few. Some desperate men wounded several, that afterwards died of their wounds, but I think not more than half a score were slain; and that was a wonder, considering what hatred and rage they came withal. We were all beholden to God, who tied their hands and saved our lives.

My Master being gone, I sought for my Mother, and having found her, she and I and my sister walked in the street, not knowing what to do, or which way to take. As we walked up and down the street we met a young man called *David Clarkson* leading a horse. My Mother asked him where he had been with that horse? says he, "I made an attempt to go with the army, and my brother *Sharp*, who, broke through the enemies' league; but the charge was so hot, I came back again, and now I know not what to do." Then said I, "pray Mother give me leave to go with David, for I think I can lead him a safe way;" for I being born in the town, knew all the by-ways about it. *David* also desired her to let me go along with him, so she begged a blessing on me, and sent me away. I led him to a place called Sill Bridge, where a foot company was standing; yet I think they did not see us, so we ran on the right hand of them, and waded over the water; and hearing a party of horse come down the lane, we laid us down in the side of the corn, and they perceived us not. It being about day breaking, we stayed here as

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long as we durst for fear of being discovered, and then stole away under the shade of the hedge, intending to go to a town called *Clayton*.

We had before met with two of our troopers who had left their horses in the town; with them therefore we went, hoping that we were passed all dangers; when on a sudden, a man on horse back espied us and came riding towards us. We like poor affrighted sheep seeing him come fast towards us with a drawn sword, foolishly kept together, and thought to save ourselves by running; had we scattered he could but have got one of us. He and we were both in one field, and he crossed the field and came to us. As it pleased God, as I was running by the hedge side, I espied a thick holly tree, and thought, perhaps I may hide me in this tree and escape; so I crept into it, and pulled the boughs about me; and presently I heard my companions cry out for quarter. He wounded one of them, and took them all prisoners, and said "you were four, where is the other?" but they knew not; so he never looked after me more. But I have often thought since, how easily we might have knocked him down, if we had had but any courage; but alas! we had none.

Having passed this day skulking in the hedges, when it was dark, I betook myself to travelling towards Colne, the place to which (I thought) my good master was gone. There I found him, and glad were we to see each other. He enquired of me, as I had staid in *Bradford* longer than he did, what was done; and what I knew I told him. He asked me if I durst go

again to *Bradford*, and see if I could find my dame, and bring him word where she was, and how she did, and what was done in the town; "Yes master," said I, "if you please to send me, I am ready and willing."

So in the Morning he sent me away; and coming to *Bradford* I found some few people, but most of the inhabitants were scattered. I lodged in a cellar that night. And O! what a change was there made in the town in three days' time! Nothing in the world left to eat or drink or lie upon! The streets were full of chaff, feathers and meal. The enemies having encamped near *Bowling Hall*, and having emptied the town of what was worth carrying away, now sat down and sold those things that would sell. In the morning I crept out of the poor cellar, and walking in the streets, I began to inquire for my dame, and at last I heard that she and my mother were both well at *Halifax*. The women were gathering meal in the streets, of which there was plenty; for the soldiers emptied the meal-sacks into the streets, and filled them with any thing they found that was more valuable. I staid not there but went to *Halifax* to see after my dame, and there I found her, delivered my message from my Master, and gave her some gold that he sent her. She sent me back to my Master desiring him to direct her what to do.

So I returned to my Master and gave him what information I could. "Well," said he, "dare you go back again to your dame?" "yes Sir," said I, "if you please to send me."

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“Go then,” said he, “and tell thy dame to go home, and go thou with her. Go to the camp and buy a Cow, and get the land mowed. Get help to get the hay, and perhaps the enemy will be called away shortly.” So he gave me money to buy a Cow, and other necessary things.

Upon this I returned to my dame; and away we went to *Horton*. I went and bought a Cow in the forenoon, and brought her home; but before night the Soldiers came and took her away from us, and carried her to the camp again. Another day she sent me to buy another, and so they did also by that.

Then she sent me to my Master again, to tell him what was done, and ask his further counsel. He was then troubled, and sent me back, to tell my dame, that he was wholly at a loss what to advise her to do, but must leave her to find out the best way, and to act accordingly. As for himself, he was now determined to remove to *Manchester*, and if he could find Sir Thomas Fairfax, he would fall in with him, and with the army.

“And as for thee *Joseph*,” says he, “I would have thee go and stay with thy dame till I come home, and then I will teach thee thy trade; but if thou hadst rather be set free, I leave thee to thy liberty, to make thy own choice, and I shall be satisfied, for I know not what will become of me.” “Well then Sir,” said I, “I choose to be at liberty, and shall seek for another master.” “It shall be so,” said he, “only go

home and tell thy dame, what I say; and what we, thou and I have done." "yes Sir," said I, "that I purposed to do." So I took my leave of him, and returned to my dame, who did sadly resent the tidings that I brought her. In a short time after I left her, and inquiring for another master, I found one at *Sowerby* in *Halifax* Vicarage, where I lived very comfortably all the time of my Apprenticeship.

In this time I had many convictions, yet I wickedly stifled them all. But I remember one Exercise Day at *Halifax*, I was hearing one Mr. Briscoe, preach from that scripture in 1 PET. II, 12. last clause; "They may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of Visitation." Having laid down this Doctrine, "that all persons that live under the gospel have a day of visitation;" he said, "this is but a day, and may be lost, and if once lost, all the angels in heaven and the saints on earth can not help that soul." To prove this truth, he brought that scripture in the 15th of Jeremiah; "then said the Lord unto me, though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people." This fell like a thunderbolt upon me, and I went home with a troubled heart. "And whose case can this be but mine?" thought I, "and if God's mind cannot be towards me, I am forever undone." In this state I went a long time; but the time of my Apprenticeship being out, I boarded with one Isaac Platts, about two years, and traded for myself. My soul trouble began to wear off, as I was taken up with other things; for my master's daughter, and I, having with my master's approbation been sa-

miliar, and I having affection for her, it took up too much of my time and thoughts. Yet as my Mother was not satisfied, this partly weaned me from her, especially as I had some fears, that she would prove too much like her Mother, who was a woman of the most frozen, ill contrived temper, I think, that ever was. She was always fretting and quarrelling with my master, a man surely of the most sweet, and obliging carriage that could be. "And" thought I, "how shall I ever bear such heart-breaking work, as is so frequent in our family?" This lay with such pressing weight upon my spirits especially when the time drew near, that we should put it to an issue, that I durst not go on, but quite broke off the connection to the great dissatisfaction both of her, and my master, and dame; though I never durst tell my Dame, that the cause of it lay so much at the door of her unworthy carriage to her husband. In a little time I fell sick, and so came home to my mother at Bradford; and then were my soul troubles, and fears more sharp and piercing than before; and the apprehension of the approach of death made them cut still more deeply. In that agony I lay some weeks, held under the burden of guilt and wrath, and a death-threatening distemper. Yet at last, God was pleased to step in with light and love, and clear satisfaction; so that I could not forbear crying out, "He is come!" This made the affliction on my body the more light and easy the remainder of the time that I was under it. And in this sweet sense and comfort I walked many days; yet had I many clouds, fears and doubts afterwards.

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Being recovered of this distemper, I returned to my old Landlord's, paid some debts and so disposed of what I had; and not having much left I came to *Bradford*, and told my dear Mother what case I was in, for this world; that I had traded away what I had. "And what thinkest thou to do now?" said she. "Why", said I, "Mother with your good leave, I would go to *London*; perhaps I may there get a place to serve some Gentleman." That she was willing to do, yet she called in some good men, and desired they would first seek the Lord for my direction and guidance in this affair, which they willingly did; and in the close of the day, having laid all circumstances together, they gave their thoughts; that, though it was a place of great danger, of sin and snares, yet there being many Godly persons there, and choice ordinances, God might have a design of mercy towards me; and so moved for my going, which pleased me well.

So I went to *Sowerby* to a London carrier, a good conditioned man: and it fell out, that another young man, one of my acquaintance, was going with him that journey, and glad we were both of going together.

The day being come, my dear Mother sent me away, though she was loath to part with me. She told me, I might live well enough on my land at *Bradford*, being about Ten pounds a year; yet I left her and my two Sisters, and went to meet the carrier and my fellow traveller. Having so done, we travelled together to the City. *Jonathan Walsh* (for so was the young man's name,) went as I did, with a purpose to serve some Gentleman.

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Being come thither, and in the Inn, God so ordered it that there happened to be two Gentlemen there, who began to say something to the carrier about a man that might wait upon one of them. Says the carrier, "there came up two young men with me that want places, and I durst be bound for one of them." So they desired him to call for that, which he commended. He came to the stairs-head and called for me. I went, not knowing the meaning thereof; and being come into the room, he (one of the gentlemen) asked me, if I wanted a place of service. "Yes Sir," said I, "if I can meet with a good place; but Sir," said I, "they almost discourage me with telling me, that there are so many bad, and so few good places." "That is true," said he "there are too few good; but what employment are you for?" "Sir," said I, "I may choose my Master, but will submit to any employment that a good man will set me to."

"You say well;" says he, "will you come and take a trial what a Master I am, what a house I keep and what your business shall be?" "Sir," said I, "here I am a stranger; I desire to gratify my eyes a few days, and then I shall take a trial, (God willing.)" Then the other man spoke and said, "this gentleman that has been speaking to you is my Father-in-law and we live near together, you therefore need not be discouraged but come as you say to my Father; and it is likely one of us may give you content." "Well Sir," said I, "I am a little surprised with this remarkable providence at my entrance into the City, and among strangers and I purpose to come on Monday; for to morrow is a public fast-day, which I intend to keep as well as I can, and


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the three days after, I intend to move up and down the City." As I thought the Son took more notice of this than the Father, I liked him the better, yet I thought to make trial of the Father first.

Having thus far proceeded, I took my leave of them, and went to look for my fellow traveller, but he was gone into the City, and so I did not see him.—The next day being a fast-day, I went to *Alderman-bury*, where Mr. Calamy was Pastor. Two preached and three prayed; and Mr. *Simeon Ash*, concluded with prayer. Now I thought God had brought me into *Goshen* a rich and fat pasture.

The next week, I spent in going to *White-Hall*, the Exchange, and the Tower, and thought I saw every thing that was worth seeing. On the Lord's day, I went to hear at Mr. Calamy's place again, where Mr. *Ash* was an assistant to Mr. Calamy. In the afternoon he went to *Hackney*, and preached with Dr. Spurstow.

On Monday, I went to *Hackney* to my old gentleman's; but when I came there, it proved to be a school, for young gentlewomen to learn to play, sing and dance; which did not at all suit with me. However, I shuffled over three or four days, as well as I could, and then told the old gentleman; I thought I must leave him; the which he took ill, and told me my business would be easy. All I had to do, was only to go into the City, and carry or bring any message from the parents of the young gentlewomen, that were scholars there;

and on the Lord's day to carry their bibles to the Church, and bring them home at night; and for my wages, he would give me five pounds a year, and the vales of the house would be as much more.

But that contented me not, though the wages were more than I expected, yet I could not be satisfied with the employment of that house, especially as they had no family duties morning or Evening. So when he could not persuade me to stay, he desired me to go to his Son's. As I was a little acquainted with him in these few days, I took my leave of the old man, and went to the young man's house. I found the master to be a very good man, but the mistress was as bad. She opposed praying, what she could, and would always be in bed both morning and evening at the time of prayer; which was a great affliction to my good master.

There were also two maids, such swearers, cursers, and enemies to that which is good, as I have seldom known. "Alas!" thought I, "sure I am got into the suburbs of Hell, and it will be my wisdom to haste away from hence; and if I cannot find some family better than this, it is best for me to think of returning to Bradford again." So I told my master one morning I thought I must leave him; "O no," says he, "by no means; you shall not leave me, what is the matter?" "Sir," said I, "I cannot like, and I pray you, give me leave to go away." So he pressed me to tell him my reason; and if any thing in his family, was not to my satisfaction, it should be mended. "Sir," said I,

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“it is not meet to reproach your family; yet this I will say, though I was born in *Yorkshire* in that cold north quarter of *England*, yet there was the worship of God set up; religion and holiness were held in esteem; and profaneness and wickedness discountenanced and banished; I looked for better things in this warm southern climate, than yet I find; and if all families be like those I have met with, I will go and return to the place from whence I came; for I think there is more of the power of godliness to be met with there. But Sir, I hope you will pardon my plainness; I do not mean to reflect upon you. I must needs say, I love your person, and your conversation; but your family does not consist of such persons as I was bred up amongst, and therefore I beg leave of you to go away.” He persuaded me to stay a few days more, which I did, and then we parted; he wished me God speed, and gave me seven shillings.

I returned to the Inn again, but found that the young man my companion was gone back again to *Yorkshire*, not finding any encouragement; and I knew not, but that I must follow him, when the carrier came up. But one day, I resolved again to see *Westminster* and *White-Hall*, and walked over the Park to *St. James's*; and there were a major and a captain exercising their men. The captain drew off his men, and marched away; so I drew near to the other, and looked with all my eyes, and I perceived the major took some notice of me. By and by, he came walking to me, and asked me, if I had any desire to be a soldier, “no Sir,” said I, “I have no military spirit.” “Well,

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says he, "what makes you be in the City, for I see you are a Country-man." "Sir," said I, "my desire is to serve some Gentleman, if I could light on a good man and a good family." "Well," says he, "go along with me to my quarters." So he ordered another officer to dispose of the soldiers, asked me several questions, and at last told me, there was a gentleman with him lately who was enquiring if any of his soldiers had a mind to leave the army, and betake themselves to private places; and says he, "I knew of none then; but perhaps, I may see him again shortly, and if he be not provided for, tell me where you lodge, and I will let you know." So I thanked him, and went away, scarcely believing that I should hear any more of it. But God had a hand of mercy in it, that I was not aware of; for the next morning, (save one,) by the time I was well come down from my bed-chamber, came a Soldier and enquired for me; and being come to him, he told me his major had sent for me to come to his quarters, at *White-Hall*, but he told me nothing of the business. I went with him and came to the Major. He asked me if I had got a place; "no Sir," said I, "I have not." "Well," said he, "the gentleman of whom I spoke to you the other day, was with me yesterday, and if you please to go and speak with him, my sergeant shall go along with you to the *Custom House*; there you will find him." "Sir," said I, "your kindness is great to me, being a stranger; I heartily thank you."

So the sergeant brought me to the gentleman. His name was Mr. Kye; and the sergeant told him, his major had sent him with me, who was the man they

talked of last night, Mr. Kye took us to a tavern, and called for sack; and having well drunk, he sent the sergeant away. He then bid me come to the *Custom House* about four o'Clock, and wait on him, and I should know more of his mind. So I did, and after I had stopped some time, he came from his business, and led me quite away out of the City, to *Islington Field*, and then beginning to talk with me, he told me, it was not himself, but his mother-in-law that wanted a man. "But," says he, "be not dismayed for she is a good woman, and you will have a good place, if you stay with her. At present, her summer-house is in *High Gate*, whither we are going."

Then he asked me some questions, as to what I knew of a work of grace upon my heart; what I thought of many scriptures; and what my judgment was, as to different things in religion; whether I was a baptist, a presbyterian, a congregationalist or what? These questions I answered, according to my knowledge and apprehension. At last having come to the house, he led me into the kitchen, and went himself into the Hall, where his mother and his wife were. After salutation, I heard him say, "mother I have brought you a new man." "That is well done," said she, "if he be a good one." "I hope well of him," says he, "however you may make trial of him." So by and by, I was called into the Hall, and the old gentlewoman asked me, what countryman I was. "A yorkshire man," said I, "a widow's son there." "What occasioned your coming to London, and leaving your mother, being a widow?" "Truly," said I, "having served my apprenticeship, I

thought to become a tradesman, and hoped to live upon it; but I went, and saw I could not buy, and sell and get gain, as other men could, and was afraid to run into debt, and so in good time gave over, and came to *London* with a design to put myself into the posture of a servant if it would please the Lord to dispose of me into some good family."

"Well," said she, "you and I are strangers; are you willing to stay here a month? and we shall have a trial of each other; and if I like you not, then I will pay you well for that month, and so we will part." "Yes," said I, "your proposal pleaseth me well." So I went into the Kitchen again, till supper-time, and made observation of the man that she had, how he did, and I thought I could do as he did, well enough.

But on the morrow I told Mr. *Kye*, that had I known that my mistress had had a man, I should not have been willing to come. He told me, I need not be troubled; "for my mother," says he, "has given him warning to provide himself another place. He is so in love with strong drink and bad company, that his stay has been burdensome to my mother long; but that she could not light upon another to her mind." So I was satisfied; neither did the man appear to be angry with me at all.

Thus did God in his providence provide for me by strangers. In two days' time the man went away; and in the mean while, my mistress told me what my employment was to be: (viz.) to wait upon her at the

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table; bring the table cloth, and spread it; lay on trenchers, salt, and bread; then set her a chair, bring the first dish to the table, and desire her to sit down; and so wait, till she called for all or any thing; then to fetch another dish, and clean trenchers, and wait till she had done; then take off, and draw the table, carry away her seat; and the two maids and I might feed upon what she left. She told me, that I should wait on her to hear Sermons, almost every day, which I did. I always writ the sermons, and repeated them. And as I did at noon, so I did at night, at supper, and all my work was done: and this was my business day after day.

Thus God provided time enough, where I enjoyed rich and fat ordinances; for she would hear the best preachers. O what cause have I to wonder at the merciful providences of God, in a strange place! now the month being out, and Mr. *Kye* being at home; (for he stayed mostly with *Oliver Cromwell*, and the godly officers of the army, and did but come on saturday-night;) my mistress called me into the Hall, and said "Joseph, now the time that we appointed for trial is over; how do you like?" "Alas mistress," said I, "it is a small matter how I like; the hinge upon which my going or staying, is, how you are satisfied with me." "Well," says she, "in a few words, I must tell you, I like you well, and shall not be willing to part with you if a reasonable quantity of wages will please you."

"I am glad of that," said I, "for I like so well of your person and my employment, that I shall not be

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willing to leave your service ; and as for wages, prove me a year, if so long I live, and at the end thereof give me what you please." "You say well, and like a servant that intends to be faithful? and you shall fare no worse for leaving it to me ; only," says she, "I expect that you be finer in your apparel, for you see, you and I must go among many great persons." "Indeed," said I, "my inclination is to be fine enough, if I had wherewith to maintain it." "O," says she, "I will maintain you not as your mother's son, but as my servant."

Upon which she bid me call for the maid ; who being come, she ordered her to bring the apparel to her, that she had fetched. So she gave me a hat, bands, doublet, coat, breeches, stockings, shoes and a Cloak, also a dozen pair of *Cuffs*, saying, "what ever I give you at the years' end, you shall have these things freely given you." So I gave her hearty thanks, and went my way. Thus the providence of God ordered for my good. Here I had an easy life, brave ordinances, a great deal of time, and ten pound wages, and many great gifts both from my mistress and from Mr. *Kye*.

God was pleased, many a time, to meet with my heart in ordinances both by way of conviction and consolation : but above all the rest, under Mr. Collings, from Gal. 2. xx, "*Who loved me, and gave himself for me.*" Herein he spoke of the freeness of christ's love to vile sinners, yea, the very worst of sinners, in three things: 1. That is free love, that was never desired. 2. That is free love, that was never deserved. 3. That is free love, that can never be requited.



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O how these particulars suited my case, as if the sermon had been fitted for none but me! And how did it soften and melt my hard heart! I scarce knew how I got home. In this comfortable state of mind, I went many days. I also met with something encouraging under Mr. Griffith and Mr. Venning. I had a brave time of it, during my stay while I was in the city, and I heartily wished my stay might be long. But having been a little short of three years, to the satisfaction of my mistress, as well as to my own, my dear mother grew impatient of my staying, and sent letter after letter, importuning me to come to *Bradford*. I at last told my mistress, and shewed her some of the letters, which she did but resent sadly, being loath to part with me.

She made me very great offers of kindness to persuade me to stay with her; yet at last she submitted, and gave me leave to go; but would often tell me, that none other should have got me from her.

When I left her, I went with a friend, who solicited me to go to one *Alderman Andrews*, who offered to give me ten pounds a year from the report he had of me; and if he liked me, he would not stick at giving me twenty pounds a year; and when ever I left him he would promote me to some place of trust and profit. But my duty to my mother, carried me against the stream and tide of pleasure, ease and profit: so that I came down to my native soil again, having been under God's blessing to a wonder.

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Having got a little money, I went and bought a house of Mr. *Horne*, and thither I removed my dear mother; and she and I and one sister, lived there together some years.

Afterwards *Samuel Bailey* a worthy man, and good friend of my mother's, by his solicitation had prevailed to get her consent, that I should go to the north, to a place called *Gretam Hospital* to be a steward for his wife's father, called *Captain Askwith*, over a place worth four or five hundred pounds a year, which the parliament had given him, for what he had laid out in raising a troop, and maintaining it in the war. To this place and employment I went, and I bless God, I did discharge my duty faithfully, and to the great satisfaction of my master, so that he himself said he never saw a finer account in all his life.

Here I stayed scarcely two years. It is true, I had power and authority enough, having all the servants at command and all that was my master's to dispose of. All the inhabitants of the town were my master's tenants, and I in a remote sense was set over them, to receive rents, agree with them for renewing leases, repairs of houses, and what fell out any way to dispose and order. But, O! what a world of business had I to go through; having to go to markets to buy and sell Cattle and Corn; some thousands of bushels of corn to sell to the merchants, to go to the sea; so that my hands were full all the day, all the summer time especially; and all that I did, I writ down at night, before I went to bed, so that I got very little sleep.

I remember one night, I was writing at a little table in my chamber having a wax candle burning, and I dropt asleep ; but by good providence, one of the maids being late up, and coming near my chamber, as she went to bed, thought there was a greater light in my chamber than usual, and called me ; presently I wakened, and saw my candle all on a flame : it had made some impression on the table, yet I was able quickly to put it out, and prevent any further danger or harm. Bless the Lord, O my soul, for this merciful providence ! This proved an effectual warning to me ever after. Whenever I felt myself inclined to sleep, by stopping up ; by taking two or three turns in my chamber, I could shake it off, and so to my business again. We had but poor preaching here, which made me think of what I formerly had at London, whither I had at many times a thought of going again ; I declared my purpose to a merchant at *Hartlepool*, to whom I sold great quantities of corn, that had a ship, and traded much to London with corn and butter, (it being a very fruitful country,) and he offered to take me free in his ship ; and there I might have been in two or three days, if the wind was fair. Yet I could not get my heart to it, without my mother's knowledge, and good leave. But all my thoughts of that nature were soon put to an end. Having one day occasion to go to *Hartlepool* to receive, a good quantity of money of the merchant aforementioned, it proved a rainy day : on the same day the head officers of that town met about some weighty matters, and this merchant being mayor that year, was there, and stayed late ; I had my money to receive after he came, which made me late in the

evening. Now near the town was a little arm of the sea, which was low when the tide was gone, so that one might wade it, and it would but take one to the knees: but when the tide was out a good large vessel might ride therein. Now had it been light, I could have known by stoops weather I could cross it with safety, or not; and if not, I could have taken another way, though it was two miles about. But as it was dark, I sat on horse back at the side, debating with myself what to do. I knew that the way about, was exceeding deep and dirty, and I should be starved in going that way and my head ached sadly. On the other hand, I concluded the tide was so far out, that it was dangerous to venture over there. Yet thought I again, could I but get through to the sand though with difficulty, I may gallop home in a little time. Yet had I many fears, for I had one time before ventured when the tide was high; but though it was going back, and therefore weaker, and though it was in the day-time, yet then I was taken off my horse, and laid on my back, my cloak bearing me up: but the seamen seeing me, came quickly to my assistance with a boat, and took me in and saved my life.

O! what a hand of mercy did appear in this! One would think I should never have forgotten it; and yet within half a year's time, I made this foolish and desperate adventure again.

Well, in I went, but by the time I had got fifteen or twenty yards in the water, I would have given a kingdom if I had had one, to have been out again: but I

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durst by no means turn my horse about, if I had, surely I had been lost. Every wave did flow so high, that my boots and pockets were full; great streams went over the horse's neck, and behind me in the saddle. "Now," thought I, "my life is gone; my horse can never be able to swim over to the other side;" and I looked that every wave that came rolling upon him and me, should drive us down, having no outward helps or means to save our lives; but only as the waves came, I endeavoured to bear his head as well as I could, and set his breast against them, lest coming upon his side they should force him down.

But alas! what poor help could that afford me! Then cried I unto the Lord, who can do every thing; and I thought with myself, "though I be in the sea, yet I am not in the whale's belly, and if I was, yet he can command deliverance for me; I depend upon his ability;" and though I expected to be cast away by every new wave, yet the Lord had me in his hand all the while, and though I began to sink in my spirit by fears, yet God enabled the horse to grapple with it, and swim to the far side. Even then I was so borne down with fear, that though I was safely delivered, and on the sand, yet could I hardly believe or tell where I was; but God's almighty arm had brought me safe to dry land. O what a wonderful deliverance was this! Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name.

I hastened home in a sad bath; I sent a man to take special care of the horse, called one maid to warm a shirt

another to warm my bed, and a third to get me something hot to drink, hoping to secure myself from harm. So to bed I went, and got some little sleep; but in the morning I was so sick and ill I could not rise.

Now began all food to be distasteful unto me. That day and the next night, my appetite and sleep departed from me; so I sent my water to a physician, who sent me word, he could then make no judgment of my case, but I was to send my water the next day, and he would give his thoughts; so I did; and then also he said, he could not tell what the distemper should be, except the person had been under some overpowering fear. All this while, he knew nothing of my being in the water; but I well understood both my danger and fear had been great, almost too great for me.

In a short time, I fell into a violent fever, in which after I had lain some weeks in great extremity, and the doctor would advise me nothing, but some easy cordial, I desired him to give me his bill, for I was purposed to make use of another. Although I was not against cordials for relieving and strengthening nature, yet I thought it very proper to have some working physic, that might be likely to weaken and remove the distemper, which he was not willing to give me.

So having paid him off, I sent to a physician at Durham, twelve miles off. He was a good man, I believe; and they said, a young convert: his name was Dr. Tunstale. He sent me something by my messenger, and said, he would come on the morrow to see me,

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which he did. He first let me blood, and gave me what he thought proper; and God so blessed his prescriptions, that I did soon recover.

But one warm sunshiny day, I desired to be helped down the stairs; and being down, I longed to go into the garden, and did so a few minutes, but soon repented my folly; for the next day I was confined to my bed, and much worse than ever before. So I sent to the doctor again, and when he came and had consulted with me a little, he was much discouraged; concluding my case, far more dangerous than it was before. Yet I desired him to do his best for me, and the will of the Lord be done. I now lay a long time in a languishing condition, expecting nothing but death; and being easy and well satisfied about my future state was borne up comfortably. But one day the doctor told my master's daughter, that if I had any friends or relations that would wish to see me alive, it were wisdom to let them know; for now he despaired of my life. "Oh Sir," says she, "he hath an own mother, but it is threescore miles off, or near it." "Alas," says he, "I fear he will be gone shortly." However she sent a man with all speed to Bradford, to my dear mother; and she, and a brother-in-law that I had, came all that tedious journey.

She found me alive, but I did not know her; yet in two days I was a little better, and knew my dear mother. I believe it did me much good, and helped on my recovery to have her with me; for after she came I was better, but was still exceeding low; and after all this, I fell into

an ague, and did shake twelve weeks. Then the doctor told me, that unless my own native air would be of use to me, I was a dead man. So as soon as I could conveniently, I resolved to try if by short and easy journies, I might possibly get home. I took my leave of my friends at Gretham, and rid upon an easy-going horse, having two men to attend me: and though I was like a skeleton, and weary of riding about ten miles a day, and shaking by the way (the last fit of it being at Knareborough) yet at length I got home; and God so graciously ordered it, that there I shook hands with that shaking distemper, and I never had the least symptom of it since to this day. O what mercy was that which God shewed towards me; How often have I stood wondering at it!

There was a man that been used to trade at Hartlepool weekly, and who had many years known when the water was rideable, yet adventuring in as I did, both he and his horse were lost. This happened in the time when I lay sick, and they told me when he was found, the fishes had eaten his hands and face. This might have been my case rather than his, yet he was lost and I was saved.

O that I could now live to God more than ever I did, and prepare for my last summons!

Being now got to Bradford among my old christian friends, they assisted me in returning a thank-offering unto the Lord; as I had been under a series of gracious and merciful providences, for a long time past. I had


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my case then sweetly spoken to, by one Mr. Pearson, from LUKE xiii. 24, "*Strive to enter in at the strait gate &c.*"

Now being come home, and about thirty years of age, I began to think of changing my state by marriage. I desired my dear mother's counsel in that case. I also consulted with and begged the advice of christian friends, who commended to me one *Sarah Denton*, a young virgin, that I knew not. She was the daughter of *John Denton*, a gracious, holy man. I endeavoured to come to the knowledge of her by face, which I did, and liked her very well. Having my honoured mother's approbation and good liking, after some time spent in prayer about it, I waited for an opportunity to speak to her father; and having been at an exercise at Bradford, I walked up the town with him, and told him I had heard a good report of his daughter Sarah and my friends thought she might be a suitable wife for me, so I begged his good leave and consent, to speak to her, in order thereunto. He told me, he was very willing, and I should be welcome to his house on that errand, when ever I pleased; for which I thanked him. "But," said I, "two words more give me leave to speak." "Well," said he, "say on." "Why," said I, "though I have heard much in praise of your daughter, yet I have no personal knowledge of her; if I be not satisfied when I come to discourse with her, will it not offend you if I let her alone, and proceed no further?"

"No, no," says he, "you shall be welcome to talk with her at any time, and act according to your own dis-

creation; and if you go no farther in the affair, I shall be satisfied."

Upon this bottom and encouragement, I went one afternoon, and the good man was just coming into the fold; so he led me into the house. I told him, he might easily imagine, what made me be there; and he said, I was welcome. So we walked into the chamber, and he told me his daughter was making hay, but he would go to her, and send her. She had not the confidence to come to me alone, but her elder sister came with her, she being of no bold spirit.

I conversed with her that time and many times afterwards, and found her to be a woman of clear experience, and of a sweet natural temper: after some time spent in this way, she and I were well satisfied in each other.

We acquainted her father and my good mother, that it was our purpose to go together; and that our desire was, that if there was any thing by them further to be done, with respect to portions, it might be done. Upon which, John Denton aforesaid, and Joshua Bailey, his brother-in-law, came to my mother's house to consult about it; and after a short preamble, my mother told them my portion was well known, being those houses and land which lay altogether in that end of the town; for money (she knew) I had but little. "And now," (said Joshua Bailey) "brother, you must tell Sarah what you will give your daughter." "Well," says he, "I have as you know three daughters, and I purpose

to give them all alike ; but what it may be, I know not ; but however above one hundred pounds. "Well," says my good mother, "I do heartily give my son to your daughter, with what he hath, or I can help him to ; and you also must give your daughter for a wife to my son heartily and cheerfully ; and as for a portion give her what you please, for I am satisfied ; I hope my son will find all that, in your daughter that I have desired and looked for."

Thus all concerned were satisfied ; then I asked, when they would have us to put an issue to it by marriage ; but they left us to our liberty, when we saw it convenient. So both sides having got something ready, we resolved upon a day. Now at this time there was a law, that Justices could marry persons. So we purposed to be married first by a Justice more privately, and went to Halifax to Justice Farrer. None but my bride and three or four relations were present. We brought the bride home to her Father's house again, and there I left her for fourteen days when we intended to have our friends together. An uncle of mine, Mr. Edward Hill, offered to give us a wedding sermon and after the sermon to marry us, both which he did ; and so we were settled in our own house, and my mother left us in convenient time.

By my wife I had two sons, David and Accepted ; and though she made no noise in the world, yet I think she was one of the meekest, wisest and holiest women, that lived in the days of her pilgrimage. Though I might have had a great deal more wealth with another,

yet I was always abundantly well satisfied in the choice that God made for me in her. What a mercy was it that the moving providence of God did both direct me to this woman, (to me unknown) and ordered all the concurring circumstances, to the great satisfaction of ourselves, and parents on both sides ! So great goodness have I shared in !

Having been married something above a year, my wife was safely delivered of a son, whom we called David, and did dedicate him to the Lord's work and service in the ministry, if he would please to accept of him. He was kept at school ; but was greatly disadvantaged for some years by bad masters. But at length he fell under the care of a good one, although he was boarded from home near five years ; at the end of which time I got Mr. Noble to examine him who thought him to have been well instructed. But in a little time that master, (whose name was Sturdy) left the school, and became a popish Priest. I was then at a loss, but I went to Morley, where Mr. Noble taught school at that time, and put my son under his care, who was a diligent faithful man. There my son profited much, and was soon fitted for university learning : but not having convenience of disposing him at that time, he stayed another year, and learned logic with him, in which he was a good proficient. Before he went to Mr. Frankland, at his coming from Morley he gave me very satisfactory accounts of a work of grace upon his heart ; on which account, I hoped God had designed him for some service in his house.

Having made way for his going to Mr. Frankland's, I sent him thither, in the seventeenth year of his age. There he had stayed about three years and a half, when Mr. Frankland sent a messenger to inform me that my son was fallen sick of a fever, and was dangerously ill; so I went to see him, and found him very weak.

I stayed about a week with him, and all that time he seemed better; and as there was great probability of his recovery, I returned home. But as it was the beginning of winter, I thought it best for him to come home, and having given orders for his coming when able to travel, I left him in expectation of his following me in convenient time.

But in fourteen days time our hopes were cut off; for Mr. Frankland sent another messenger to inform us that he was worse and desired me to go again, which I did, and got thither on Thursday in the afternoon.

My son was glad to see me, yet feared I should get my death by these long journies, being very cold, frosty, and snowy weather; but he was grown exceedingly weak; though he continued very sensible to the end of his sickness, which was on Saturday in the evening, when he breathed out his soul into the hands of God, being very comfortable in his last moments. He was in the twenty-first year of his age, having preached three times to great satisfaction.

So I had the happiness to be with him at his death, and I writ a letter to my dear wife that night, and sent

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it to her on the Monday; and on the Tuesday, I laid him in his grave at Kendal.

On the thursday following I got home again; and blessed be God, I found that my dear wife was much resigned in her spirits, and was helped to carry her affliction so much like a christian, as made many wonder. The Lord was wonderfully gracious and kind to her in it, for I often feared, it would have broken her heart; yet she bore it with great and sweet submission to the will of God; being comfortably satisfied that he was landed safe in glory. A long time before this, both my dear wife and myself were admitted into the church at Kippin, with which we walked satisfyingly many years. The church had called one Mr Whitetrust to be their pastor, who gave content some years; yet he proved at last so wedded to the doctrine of the kingdom of Christ (as he called it) together with some other notions of his own, from which he could not be got, that he caused a breach in the church. Some withdrew from him, and others stuck to him, and walked with him a good while, till there fell out some other matters of dissatisfaction, when they also left him, to provide for himself. He went to Burlington, and there they fell into factions also, and there he died.

After his going away, the church at Kippin was again united, and walked sweetly together, but could not get a pastor.—I had but two children by my wife and the name of the younger was *Accepted*. The reason why I called him so was this: my dear wife had been some time satisfied about her interest in Christ;

but so an allwise and gracious God was pleased to carry it towards her with that strangeness, that she fell under doubts and fears about her interest in him, and relation to him, when she was great with this child. This cloud and darkness by Christ's withdrawing from her, had such an impression upon her, as caused her to walk with an unwonted sadness for most part of three days; but then the Lord was pleased sweetly to shine in upon her soul again to her great satisfaction, and she was filled with peace and joy in believing; in the consideration of which, we were resolved to give the child this name, and so we did; and God made him acceptable to many souls, and blessed his labours to many. Though it pleased the Lord to afflict him with great weakness in his joints, so that he could not go without crutches; yet he was enabled to pray and preach two or three hours upon them, to the awakening, warning, and comforting of many, that came to attend upon his ministry.

My dear wife walked comfortably under the well grounded assurance of God's everlasting love to her soul many years, making her boast of him all the day long. A very great mercy to me it was, that I was directed by a hand of providence to her; she being a woman of such rare accomplishments, and continued to me so long. We lived at *Bradford* about two years, and then an uncle of my dear wife's died at *Atterton*, called *Samuel Bailey*, who upon his death-bed desired that we might remove thither, and have one half of the land, and his wife the other.

So in a short time, it was desired by them all who

were concerned in it, that we should go thither, there being two houses, and land enough for us both. When we came to *Allerton*, all the inhabitants shewed great favour and respect unto us, and thanked God for bringing us thither; and above them all, *Joshua Bailey*, another of my wife's uncles was wonderous kind to us, so that we have often stood admiring at the goodness of God to us herein, especially I being but a little while acquainted with them. He abated us forty shillings in the year of the land, of what it had been let for. One time he saw we had too few cows for the pasture, and went and bought us a new-calved-cow, and sent his man with them freely. Another time, he brought us a purse with twenty-pounds in it, and gave us it freely. Nay, he, and his wife too, were so open-hearted to us every day, as exceeded our utmost expectations. And this his affection to us was not like a sudden and short land-flood, but it lasted to his dying day. By his last will, he gave my wife and her heirs for ever, the land we lived on, worth twenty pounds a year.—Thus God raised us up friends, and turned the hearts of every body to love us.

Here we lived comfortably many years; during which time, both my uncle and aunt died, and also my dear wife's mother. My father-in-law was left alone to keep house with a maid, of which growing weary, he solicited us to come and live with him.

We had almost consented to comply with his invitation; but alas! who can tell what one day will bring forth! God so ordered it in his wise providence, that

before the time came, in which we were purposed to remove he fell sick, and his master sent for him to heaven, where he had longed to be. He would sometimes say to me, in the time of God's withdrawments, "Oh! son Lister, I am not able to bear up under God's absence!" He was as gracious and holy a man as most I knew. When he was near death, there were two or three christian friends in the room; and he said to me, "I desire one of you would pray with me." "Which of us?" said I. "Why, whom you please," said he; so I desired *George Ward*; but says my father, "I would speak to him first," "Well. say what you will," said *George*, "and I will hear." So having got his breath he said, "there is nothing that I would have you to beg for me, for God is come into my soul, and I am brimfull; if there was no more heaven than I do now enjoy, it is enough; let your prayers be turned into praises; for it is enough, my clay vessel can hold no more." In a few hours after he had said this, he departed.

My own dear mother died also, after she had served the Lord, and faithfully followed him many years. She was an honour to her profession, a woman of a thousand, every way exemplary in her conversation, a pattern of holiness, and an heir of a kingdom that fades not away, which she now is possessed of for ever. She left me rich in a stock of prayers, the answers whereof I am reaping every day.

O! what losses have I sustained, of dear friends, who are gone to heaven and glory, and have left me in a waste howling wilderness. Yet blessed be God!

he hath directed me, and led me in the right way towards a City of habitation, whose builder and maker is God! At this time after the passing of the Black Bartholomew act we were hard put to it, for bread for our souls. On account of this act many Godly ministers turned non-conformists, preaching and praying were esteemed such crimes in *England*, that great fines and imprisonments were imposed upon many; that were found breaking that cursed law. Yet we had many good preachers, who adventured to come and help us; and God did so well keep and care for us, that our meeting was never broken up, though we never missed to keep the Lord's day, either in the morning, or the light part of the day, or the evening.

We had several houses where we met; as that at Kippin; and *John Berry's* and our house; and sometimes at *Horton*. We had Mr. *Kuther* one year, and then he had a call to London; sometimes Mr. *Root* Senr, and Mr. *Root* Junr, Mr. *Ness*, Mr. *Marsden*, Mr. *Cotes*, Mr. *Bailey* and many others. At last, we got a man, called Mr. *Whitehurst*, and he became our pastor. But after some years as has been before mentioned, a difference fell out betwixt him, and several of the church; who withdrew from him, and I was one of those that did so. About two years after we heard of Mr. *Smith* a young man, who had lived with his father a year. He was a man of fine parts: to him we sent desiring him to come and preach with us and so he did, and staid about a month, till we had proof of him in part, and found, he was not altogether of our judgment. Yet we dealt plainly and faithfully

with him, and gave him an account of the breach, that fell out amongst us. We gave him a call to preach the Gospel to us, which he accepted, and the Church sending me for him, he came along with me. He was boarded at the Kippin with Dr. Hall, and great satisfaction both he and we had. After he had been with us about seven or eight years, the good people about *Mixenden* and *Warley* invited him to preach with them occasionally on the week days, and they began to covet him, and made some offers to him to come and preach every other Lord's day there, and the other day at Kippin as he had done. To this motion he inclined, and told us, he had a call, and would have us to give way to it. As it was but three miles off, we might go with him every other Lord's day, and he would continue his boarding at Kippin, and be of all the use to us that he could. His heart being already gone, we could use no arguments to stay him with us, that were prevalent, so we left him to his liberty. Accordingly he preached at Mixenden every other Lord's day. I went thither for several years winter and summer; but my dear wife was deprived of the means, being not able to travel so far.

Our Son *Accepted*, being now fit for university learning, and because of his weakness, unable to go far, we spoke to Mr. Smith to instruct him, which he was willing to do, knowing him to be a very good scholar. With him he was about three years. In his last year, he broke his thigh in going down the stairs, the tidings whereof, did at first almost sink my dear wife; yet in a little time, she recovered her spirits again, and bore

it like a christian. The bone was well set, and mended fast. He stayed his time there, and so came home.

Because of the weakness of his joints, we feared he could not be able to stand to preach; so we purposed to provide for his teaching scholars, and I built a room very convenient for that purpose. But a neighbouring school-master, who pretended much respect and kindness to him, did betray him, (I do not say into the *spiritual* but) into the *spiteful* court at York whence he was prosecuted for teaching without license.

And though he had both ability, and a fine faculty of teaching, to the great profit of his scholars; and though I had some friends, who used their utmost endeavours to get him a license; yea though the Vicar of Pember-ton, and some other great men, that were none too good, writ for him, because they saw he was likely to be of great use; yet all would not do, unless he would subscribe and swear to that, to which he was not able to see how he could subscribe with a clear conscience. He therefore desisted to the great trouble of the parents of the scholars.

So he gave himself up to the study of the Scriptures, the better to prepare himself for the work of the ministry. About this time Mr. Smith, upon some slight occasion resolved to leave the *Kippin*, and go to Mixenden altogether, which he did all on a sudden. In a little time he repented, and would have come again; but we had no desire for him, as he had gone away in such a blameable manner.

We got the neighbouring ministers and others to supply the place till after a certain time, the Church did solicit my son to preach there. This he long refused upon a double account; First, The great weakness of his body, fearing he would not be able to stand; and Second, The sense he had of the weightiness of the work, and his own inability for it. Yet did they importune him time after time, but he put them off for a considerable period; though he did something in his own house, whither many came.

At length however he was prevailed with, by the good Dr. *Hall's* moving arguments which especially swayed with him. For his help, he contrived and ordered the making of a seat within the pulpit for him to sit on that was very easy, and might turn very conveniently upon an iron pin; (which yet he never made use of more than to see how it would do,) if he found himself unable to stand. But blessed be God, though at first for a few Lord's days, it put him hard to it to stand so long; yet in a little time he found help and strength come in, so that he was able to go through his work, and could stand two hours in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon without any weariness. They approved of his gifts, and gave him a call to preach the Gospel to them which he accepted, and promised to stay one quarter of a year. When that term was out, they renewed their call again; and continued to do so every quarter to their mutual satisfaction; and there was a great congregation. But at length Mr. *Smith* began to envy our peaceable privileges, and great assembly, which he could not hinder by his many offers to come again.

Yet rather than not do it, he with one or two more began to plot a project which he hoped would prove a more effectual way. They took and repaired a little old Cottage, a place that he would have scorned to have come into, to preach upon any more noble occasion, little more than half a mile from Kippin, and there he began to preach. The very first time of his coming, he let his peevish spirit have liberty to speak against the Church, which would not receive him again; and likewise against my son, who was as innocent as a child, not having any mind or inclination to preach at Kippin, but upon their importunity; and that too, long after Mr. *Smith* had turned his back upon it, and the people that assembled there. Yet what he then said, did so disgust many against my son, as made his stay there less comfortable.

But in process of time; one of the main promoters of that unchristian like meeting, (viz. old James Keighley) one morning as he was getting potatoes, fell down dead; and Mr. *Smith* came there no more, that I know of, save to preach his funeral sermon. But we were never settled or composed after this opposition made by him, as we had been before.

On October 17th, 1693, did my son fall off his horse, and broke both his thighs having been to preach at *Leeds*. He lay silent nine Lord's days, and then he was enabled to preach again. During this time he had a call to *Clifford* and went thither some few days; but not being able to see his way clear, he resolved not to

comply with the call, but continued at *Kippin*, though not to his entire satisfaction.

The people often desired him to become pastor to them ; but as they were so divided among themselves some of them holding some tenets and matters of controversy, and as the members of the Church were some of them old men, and most of them far distant in their habitation. and for these reasons communion so hard to be gained ; he could not accept of their call to the office. However he preached to them the gospel of salvation ; but often told them. he would advise them to look out for a man, who was fitter to serve them.

It fell out that a meeting place was built at *Bingley*, and some good men that lived there, desired my son to preach to them every other Lord's day. To this offer after some discourse about it, and some time to consider of it, they at *Kippin* consented, and my son was willing for a quarter of a year to make a trial, which was concluded upon. He went one quarter, and at the end thereof they renewed their call.

But at this time, having been preaching at *Kippin* on January, 20th, 1695, his horse's foot stuck fast in the hole of an ice ; and endeavouring to get it out, my son fell, and broke both his thighs again, on which account he lay silent seven Lord's days, after which he was enabled to stand and preach again. But now our fears of future danger were very pressing, so that we durst not think of his riding any more on horseback ; and the good people at *Bingley* now renewed their call to my

son to live with them altogether, having now a main argument on their side, which was, that the house and Chapel were both under one roof, and he needed not to wet his foot in going from his study to the pulpit.

This was a moving consideration under our circumstances; and as we knew they wanted a pastor at *Kippin*, and as my son could not accept of that office there, we thought it best to remove, so that way might be made for another to come, that might answer their desire. And as my son was never under any promise of staying at *Kippin* any longer than from quarter to quarter, he inclined to go to *Bingley*, though it was a sottish and ignorant place, and much inclined to Antinomianism. As we thought we had a clear call to go, this gave great satisfaction to the people of that place generally, who sent horses and carts to fetch us, and all that we had, in a manner, all upon one day, and I think without the loss of one penny worth of our goods. This was in the month of *May*, in the year 1695. Being settled there, the Lord gave us favour in the eyes of the inhabitants of the town, (excepting two men) who afforded us as great expressions of love and kindness as might be expected, though but few of the town would come to hear my son, the congregation consisting of persons that came from other places. Having been here about two years, my dear wife died; and she lieth sleeping in the dust in that place, till the blessed morning of the resurrection, when the great jubilee trumpet shall sound and all the prisoners of death and the grave shall rise. Then she shall appear a blessed and glorious creature indeed! Here she left my

dear son and me in an evil, tempting, and ensnaring world, to shift as we were able.

About three years after my dear wife's death, I was arrested with a most violent fever, which was then very rife and mortal in many places. Under this distemper I was afflicted with very great sweatings, and extreme coughing for two or three hours together with but very little intermission; and also with the most afflicting thirst I ever experienced; all which brought me very low, so that for a week or ten days, I was in the eyes of spectators a gone man, and I had received the sentence of death in my own apprehensions also. Yet at last, even to a wonder, God was pleased to rebuke the distemper, and to raise me up again. I recovered gradually, without any relapse, though many relapsed and were taken off.

Oh what cause have I to wonder at the patience and forbearance of God towards me; that he did not send me down to hell who had so long deserved it. I believe, that many prayers were answered in my recovery. "Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name." "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?" "I would take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord." I would pray that I may be helped to walk with God a little while; as Enoch did; looking for a City which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. This death-threatening distemper was upon me in the seventy-fourth year of my age; which made my recovery the greater wonder. During our stay at

Bingley, my son had many calls from the Church at *Kippin* to return to them again. The good people at *Bingley* also often desired him to accept of the office of pastor to them, so that for some time he was in the dark about it.

He consulted the neighbouring ministers on the subject; but there being many arguments of weight on both sides, and they not being willing to offend either party, returned no direct answer, but left my son to act according to his own inclination, without determining either way. By this means the knot was made harder than before. It is true indeed, Mr. *Whitaker* and Mr. *Noble* were for his return to the *Kippin*.

So after a long time of debating, praying, weighing, and waiting, he thought he had a call from God to that old broken, and shattered Church. His heart was inclined to see if the Lord would make him a repairer of the breaches thereof; hoping there might be some good done among a young generation of the seed of the Church and others. We had been seven years at *Bingley*; but not without assistance and success to my son in his ministerial labours. Many were convinced, some converted, and gone to heaven, and others making haste thitherwards; many, I believe, were greatly comforted and edified, who made thankful acknowledgements to my son, (to our great satisfaction,) and with many prayers and tears, they intreated us to stay among them. They were to us indeed, a kind, dear, and loving people, so that we were very unwilling to leave them on account of the good liking, and the accommodations and conve-

niences we had among them. Yet the prospect of usefulness, and likelihood of doing good at *Kippin*, preponderated over all, and led us to shake hands with that loving people, my son having been there only as a minister of the everlasting gospel, and not as a pastor over them. Having given the Church at *Kippin* a promise, we still stayed at *Bingley* near half a year till they were provided with a constant supply, by two; viz. Mr. Smith and Mr. Wainman; and then though it was in the throng of hay time there came thirty men, and as many horses and carts as carried us, and all we had away together, on the twenty-second day of July 1702. We found a hearty welcome into brother Hall's house at *Kippin*, till a better conveniency could be provided for us. The Church having had long proof of my son's qualifications gave him a call to the office of pastor as well as preacher, which he accepted, and now they were importunate that a time might be appointed for the solemn setting him apart to that office, which he assented unto; and the nineteenth day of August 1702, was appointed. Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Noble were sent unto for their assistance therein. Mr. Whitaker came to sister Gargreaves's; and the fore part of the day being spent in prayer, the Church did by brother Ward, signify their unanimous call of my son to that office.

Then Mr. Whitaker produced a fair and free dismission of my son from the Church at *Leeds*, to which he had been joined; signed by himself, in the name, and with the approbation of that Church to us, with their hearty prayers for him. Then my son signified his acceptance of their call, purposing and promising to be as

useful as God would make him, and desired the Church's prayers for him. Then Mr. *Whitaker* went to prayer, gave an exhortation to him, and us, and my son concluded the work of the day with prayer, and so the assembly was dismissed.

Now the Lord having put the Church into a capacity of enjoying all the ordinances, they desired to partake of the Lord's supper. A day was appointed to be kept as a preparation for that ordinance which was administered on the twenty-third day of September 1702.

A house was in due time provided for his further convenience under the roof of the *Kippin*, the people being desirous to encourage him to the utmost of their poor ability. There he continued their pastor to his dying day, which was at the end of about seven years. He had been preaching very warmly and affectionately to his people, from Hebrews, iv, 1. "Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it." The next Lord's day being the day for administering the Lord's supper, he busily, and difficultly attended, performed his work and finished those subjects he had long spoken to. This Lord's day proved to be his last; for the next morning he began to be taken with convulsions, which continued till thursday night with some intermission, and then took him off, to our great loss and trouble, but his great gain. Though we lost him, the Church triumphant gained him. He now sleeps in Jesus, for to him to live was Christ, and to die was unspeakable gain.

It was part of his christian character, that he desired to know nothing save Christ and him crucified. He had for his epitaph; this short motto inscribed on his grave-stone, "Impendam & expendar" i. e. I will spend my strength, and be willing to be spent in the cause of Christ.

Note added by another person. His father lived to see him buried, and himself died exactly that day fortnight after him, being March the fourteenth, 1709, being twelve weeks and four days short of completing his eighty-second year. Dr. Hall died in June, the next following; so that it was then a mournful time with the poor broken Church at Kippin.



W. H. Blackburn, Printer, Market-Street, Bradford.



